

WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON, AND LINCOLN.

JUNE 4, 1900.—Ordered to be printed.

Mr. PETTIGREW presented the following paper, entitled

**IMMORTAL AMERICANS—THREE STATESMEN WHOSE GUIDING
HANDS CREATED AND MAINTAINED THE MOST BENEFICENT
FREE GOVERNMENT KNOWN IN THE WORLD'S HISTORY—
WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON, AND LINCOLN.**

[From the National Watchman, March 29, 1900.]

The following extracts from the letters, speeches, and messages of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln were refused the consent of the Senate to be printed as a public document last week. When Senator Pettigrew asked unanimous consent for the publication of the following extracts as a document the Hannaites Senators were thrown into consternation and craned their necks in all directions to catch the eyes of their colleagues. Finally they decided to object to their publication as a document unless first submitted to the printing committee and then reported back to the Senate by that committee. This is the usual course adopted to put to sleep all matters objectionable to the majority that control the committees. Senator Pettigrew objected to such a course of procedure, and stated that the matter consisted of extracts from letters, speeches, and messages of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln, and that he would withdraw his request rather than refer them to a committee. The extracts are as follows:

THE GREAT EMANCIPATOR.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS AND SPEECHES BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN—UTTER-
ANCES PERTINENT TO PRESENT CONDITIONS.

LETTER BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN RESPONSE TO AN INVITATION TO ATTEND A FESTI-
VAL IN HONOR OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF JEFFERSON'S BIRTHDAY GIVEN BY THE
REPUBLICANS OF BOSTON.

[From Raymond's Life of Abraham Lincoln, page 101.]

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., *April 6, 1859.*

GENTLEMEN: Your kind note inviting me to attend a festival in Boston on the 13th instant in honor of the birthday of Thomas Jefferson was duly received. My engagements are such that I can not attend.

The Democracy of to-day holds the liberty of one man to be absolutely nothing when in conflict with another man's right of property. Republicans, on the contrary, are both for the man and the dollar, but in case of conflict the man before the dollar.

I remember once being much amused at seeing two partially intoxicated men engaged in a fight with their great coats on, which fight, after a long and rather harmless contest, ended in each having fought himself out of his own coat and into that of the other. If the two leading parties of this day are really identical with the two in the days of Jefferson and Adams, they have performed the same feat as the two drunken men.

But, soberly, it is now no child's play to save the principles of Jefferson from total overthrow in this nation. * * * This is a world of compensations, and he that would be no slave must consent to have no slave. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and, under a just God, can not long retain it.

All honor to Jefferson; to a man who, in the concrete pressure of a struggle for national independence by a single people, had the coolness, forecast, and capacity to introduce into a merely revolutionary document an abstract truth applicable to all men and all times, and so to embalm it there that to-day and in all coming days it shall be a rebuke and a stumbling block to the harbingers of reappearing tyranny and oppression.

Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

MESSRS. H. L. PIERCE AND OTHERS, ETC.

FROM THE ANNUAL MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN TO THE SECOND (FIRST REGULAR) SESSION OF THIRTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS, DECEMBER 3, 1861.

It is not needed, nor is it fitting here, that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions; but there is one point, with its connections, not so hackneyed as most others, to which I ask brief attention. It is the effort to place capital on an equal footing with, if not above, labor in the structure of the Government. It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else, owning capital, somehow by the use of it induces him to labor. This assumed, it is next considered whether it is best that capital shall hire laborers, and thus induce them to work by their own consent, or buy them and drive them to it without their consent. Having proceeded so far, it is naturally concluded that all laborers are either hired laborers or what we call slaves. And, further, it is assumed that whoever is once a hired laborer is fixed in that condition for life.

Now, there is no such relation between capital and labor as assumed, nor is there any such thing as a free man being fixed for life in the condition of a hired laborer. Both these assumptions are false, and all inferences from them are groundless.

Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could not have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration. Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights. Nor is it denied that there is, and probably will always be, a relation between labor and capital, producing mutual bene-

fits. The error is in assuming that the whole labor of community exists within that relation.

No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty—none less inclined to take or touch ought which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them, till all liberty shall be lost.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN TO HIS FRIEND ELKINS IN ILLINOIS IN 1864.

[George Shibley's book on The Money Question.]

Yes, we may congratulate ourselves that this cruel war is nearing its close. It has cost a vast amount of treasure and blood. The best blood of the flower of the American youth has been freely offered upon our country's altar that the nation might live. It has been indeed a trying hour for the Republic; but I see in the near future a crisis approaching that unnerves me and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country.

As a result of war corporations have been enthroned and an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all wealth is aggregated in a few hands, and the Republic is destroyed.

I feel at this moment more anxiety for the safety of my country than ever before, even in the midst of war. God grant that my suspicion may prove groundless.

IMMORTAL WORDS OF THE MARTYRED PRESIDENT.

EXTRACTS FROM PUBLIC SPEECHES DELIVERED BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

TO GUARD AGAINST TYRANNY.

[From Lincoln and Douglas Debates, p. 47. Lincoln's speech at Springfield, June 26, 1857.]

In those days our Declaration of Independence was held sacred by all, and thought to include all; but now, to aid in making the bondage of the negro universal and eternal, it is assailed and sneered at and construed, and hawked at and torn, till, if its framers could rise from their graves they could not at all recognize it. * * * He (Douglas) finds the Republicans insisting that the Declaration of Independence includes all men, black as well as white. * * * Chief Justice Taney, in his opinion in the Dred Scott case, admits that the language of the Declaration of Independence is broad enough to include the whole human family. * * * I think the authors of that notable instrument intended to include all men, but they did not intend to declare all men equal in color, size, intellect, moral development, and social capacity. They defined with tolerable distinctness in what respects they did consider all men created equal—equal with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness. This they said, and this they meant. They meant to set up a

standard maxim for free society which should be familiar to all and revered by all, constantly looked to, constantly labored for, and even though never perfectly attained, constantly approximated, and thereby constantly spreading and deepening its influence and augmenting the happiness and value of life to all people of all colors everywhere. The assertion that "all men are equal" was of no practical use in effecting our separation from Great Britain; and it was placed in the Declaration not for that, but for future use. Its authors meant it be—as, thank God, it is now proving itself—a stumbling-block to all those who in after times might seek to turn a free people back into the hateful paths of despotism. They knew the proneness of prosperity to breed tyrants, and they meant when such should reappear in this fair land and commence their vocation, that they should find left for them at least one hard nut to crack.

LINCOLN AT GETTYSBURG.

[Address at dedication of Gettysburg National Cemetery, November 19, 1863. From Raymond's Life of Lincoln, p. 412.]

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and dedicated, can long endure. We are met on the great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But in a large sense we can not dedicate, we can not consecrate, we can not hallow, this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth.

THE SCOURGE OF WAR.

[From Lincoln's second inaugural address, March 4, 1865.]

Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsmen's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still must it be said: "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether." With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right,

as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in—to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

DUTY OF A CHIEF MAGISTRATE.

[From Lincoln's first inaugural address, March 4, 1861.]

The chief magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have conferred none upon him to fix the term for the separation of the States. The people themselves can do this also if they choose, but the Executive, as such, has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present Government as it came to his hands and to transmit it, unimpaired by him, to his successor. By the frame of the Government under which we live this same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief, and have with equal wisdom provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance no administration, by any extreme wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the Government in the short space of four years.

THE ARGUMENTS OF KINGS.

[From Lincoln and Douglas debates, page 90. Lincoln's speech at Chicago, July 10, 1858.]

Those arguments that are made, that the inferior race are to be treated with as much allowance as they are capable of enjoying—that as much is to be done for them as their condition will allow. What are these arguments? They are the arguments that kings have made for enslaving the people in all ages of the world. You will find that all the arguments in favor of kingcraft were of this class; they always bestrode the necks of the people—not that they wanted to do it, but because the people were better off for being ridden.

FREEDOM RATHER THAN SLAVERY.

[From Lincoln and Douglas debates, page 91. Lincoln's speech at Chicago, July 10, 1858.]

So I say in relation to the principle that all men are created equal, let it be as nearly reached as we can. If we can not give freedom to every creature, let us do nothing that will impose slavery upon any other creature. Let us turn this Government back into the channel in which the framers of the Constitution originally placed it.

A PERTINENT WARNING.

[From Lincoln's annual message, December, 1861.]

In my present position I could scarcely be justified were I to omit raising a warning voice against this approach of returning despotism.
* * * It is the effort to place capital on an equal footing with, if

not above, labor in the structure of government. * * * Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the higher consideration.

LIFE, LIBERTY, HAPPINESS.

[From Lincoln and Douglas debates, page 159. Lincoln's speech at Springfield, July 17, 1858.]

I have said that I do not understand the declaration to mean that all men were created equal in all respects. They are not our equal in color; but I suppose that it does mean to declare that all men are equal in some respects; they are equal in their right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

AGAINST THE WAR—FOR THE SOLDIERS.

[From Lincoln and Douglas debates, page 180. Lincoln's speech at Ottawa, August 21, 1858.]

And so I think my friend, the Judge, is equally at fault when he charges me at the time I was in Congress of having opposed our soldiers who were fighting in the Mexican war. The Judge did not make his charge very distinctly, but I can tell you what he can prove by referring to the Record. You remember I was an old Whig, and whenever the Democratic party tried to get me to vote that the war had been righteously begun by the President, I would not do it. But whenever they asked for any money, or land warrants, or anything to pay the soldiers there during all that time I gave the same vote that Judge Douglas did.

PUBLIC SENTIMENT EVERYTHING.

[From Lincoln and Douglas debates, page 191. Lincoln's speech at Ottawa, August 21, 1858.]

In this and like communities public sentiment is everything. With public sentiment nothing can fail; without it nothing can succeed. Consequently, he who molds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible or impossible to be executed.

SUPPORTING THE CONSTITUTION.

[From Lincoln and Douglas Debates, p. 269. Lincoln's speech at Jonesboro, Ky., Sept. 15, 1858.]

What do you understand by supporting the constitution of a State or of the United States? Is it not to give such constitutional helps to the rights established by that constitution as may be practically needed? Can you, if you swear to support the constitution, and believe that the constitution establishes a right, clear your oath, without giving it support? Do you support the constitution if, knowing or believing there is a right established under it which needs specific legislation, you withhold that legislation? Do you not violate and disregard your oath? I can conceive of nothing plainer in the world.

TEST OF THE TRUTH OF DOCTRINE.

[From Lincoln and Douglas Debates, p. 353. Lincoln's speech at Galesburg, Oct. 7, 1858.]

It is the true test of the soundness of a doctrine that in some places people wont let you proclaim it. Is that the way to test the truth of any doctrine?

SURRENDER THEIR LIBERTIES.

Jefferson said that "Judges are as honest as other men and not more so." And he said, substantially, that "whenever a free people should give up in absolute submission to any department of government, retaining for themselves no appeal from it, their liberties were gone."

THE DOCTRINE OF SUPPRESSION.

[From Lincoln and Douglas Debates, p. 441, Lincoln's speech at Alton, October 15, 1858.]

Is that irresistible power, which for fifty years has shaken the Government and agitated the people, to be stilled and subdued by pretending that it is an exceedingly simple thing and we ought not to talk about it? If you will get everybody else to stop talking about it, I assure you I will quit before they have half done so. But where is the philosophy or statesmanship which assumes that you can quiet that disturbing element * * * on the assumption that we are to quit talking about it, and that the public mind is all at once to cease being agitated by it? * * * I ask you if it is not a false philosophy? Is it not a false statesmanship that undertakes to build up a system of policy upon the basis of caring nothing about the very thing that everybody does care the most about?

CHRISTIAN OPPOSITION TO MORAL REFORM.

[From Holland's Life of Abraham Lincoln.]

Mr. Newton Bateman, superintendent of public instruction for the State of Illinois, occupied a room adjoining and opening into the executive chamber. Frequently this door was open during Mr. Lincoln's receptions, and throughout the seven months or more of his occupation Mr. Bateman saw him nearly every day.

Often when Mr. Lincoln was tired he closed his door against all intrusion and called Mr. Bateman into his room for a quiet talk. On one of these occasions Mr. Lincoln took up a book containing a careful canvass of the city of Springfield, in which he lived, showing the candidate for whom each citizen had declared his intention to vote in the approaching election. Mr. Lincoln's friends had, doubtless at his request, placed the result of the canvass in his hands. This was toward the close of October, and only a few days before the election. Calling Mr. Bateman to a seat at his side, having previously locked all the doors, he said: "Let us look over this book. I wish particularly to see how the ministers of Springfield are going to vote." The leaves were turned, one by one, and as the names were examined, Mr. Lincoln

frequently asked if this one and that was not a minister, or an elder, or the member of such or such a church, and sadly expressed his surprise on receiving an affirmative answer. In that manner they went through the book, and then he closed it and sat silently and for some minutes regarding a memorandum in pencil which lay before him. At length he turned to Mr. Bateman with a face full of sadness, and said: "Here are 23 ministers of different denominations, and all of them are against me but three; and here are a great many prominent members of the churches, a very large majority of whom are against me. Mr. Bateman, I am not a Christian—God knows I would be one—but I have carefully read the Bible, and I do not so understand this book;" and he drew from his bosom a pocket New Testament. "These men well know," he continued, "that I am for freedom in the Territories, freedom everywhere as far as the Constitution and laws will permit, and that my opponents are for slavery. They know this, and yet, with this book in their hands, in the light of which human bondage can not live a moment, they are going to vote against me. I do not understand it at all."

FOR THE CONSTITUTION.

It was in the oath I took that I would, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States. * * * Nor was it my view that I might take an oath to get power, and break the oath in using that power. * * * I did understand that my oath imposed upon me the duty of preserving, to the best of my ability, by every indispensable means, that government, that nation, of which the Constitution was the organic law.

LINCOLN AND FREEDOM.

Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us; our defense is in the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men in all lands, everywhere. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God can not long retain it.

ON WAR WITH MEXICO.

Let the President answer the interrogatories I proposed, as before mentioned, or some other similar ones. Let him answer fully, fairly, and candidly. Let him answer the facts, and not with arguments. Let him remember he sits where Washington sat; and, so remembering, let him answer as Washington would answer. As a nation should not—as the Almighty will not—be evaded, so let him attempt no evasion, no equivocation, and if in so answering he can show the soil was ours where the first blood was shed * * * that the inhabitants had submitted to the United States * * * then I am with him for his justification.

LINCOLN'S PROVERBS.

Do not worry.

Eat three square meals a day.

Say your prayers.

Think of your wife.

Be courteous to your creditors.

Steer clear of biliousness.

Exercise.

Go slow and easy.

Keep your digestion good.

Maybe there are other things that your special case requires to make you happy, but, my friend, these, I reckon, will give you a lift.

SOVEREIGN OF A FREE PEOPLE.

A majority held in constraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinion and sentiment, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it, does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or despotism.

LINCOLN ON DESPOTISM.

No man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent. When the white man governs himself, that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than self-government—that is despotism.

THE MAN AND THE DOLLAR.

When it comes to a question between a man and a dollar, I am on the side of the man every time.

THE PEOPLE.

The people themselves, and not their servants, can safely reverse their own deliberate decisions.

GOLD AND MEN.

Gold is good in its place, but living, brave, patriotic men are better than gold.

ALL MEN CREATED EQUAL.

Let us discard all this quibbling about this man and the other man—this race and that race and the other race being inferior, and therefore they must be placed in an inferior position, discarding our standard that we have left us; let us discard all these things and unite as one people throughout this land until we shall once more stand up declaring that

all men are created equal. * * * I leave you, hoping that the lamp of liberty will burn in your bosoms until there shall no longer be a doubt that all men are created equal.

THE WAY IS PLAIN.

Fellow-citizens, we can not escape history. We of this Congress and of this Administration will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down, in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation. We say we are for the Union. The world will not forget that we say this. We know how to save the Union. The world knows we do know how to save it. We—even we here—hold the power and bear the responsibility. In giving freedom to the slave we assure freedom to the free—honorable alike in all that we give and what we preserve. We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last, best hope of the earth. Other means may succeed; this could not fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just—a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud and God must forever bless.

NO GOOD SLAVERY.

No man was ever created good enough to own another.

LIBERTY AND HOPE FOR ALL PEOPLE.

Your worthy mayor (of Philadelphia) has expressed the wish, in which I join with him, that it were convenient for me to remain in your city long enough for me to consult your merchants and manufacturers, or, as it were, to listen to those breathings arising within the consecrated walls wherein the Constitution of the United States, and, I will add, the Declaration of Independence, were originally framed and adopted. I assure you and your mayor that I had hoped on this occasion, and upon all occasions during my life, that I shall do nothing inconsistent with the teachings of these holy and most sacred walls. I have never asked anything that does not breathe from those walls. All my political warfare has been in favor of the teachings that come forth from these sacred walls. May my right hand forget its cunning and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if I ever prove false to those teachings. I have often inquired of myself what great principle or idea it was that kept this confederacy so long together. It was not the mere matter of the separation of the colonies from the motherland, but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty, not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world for all future time. * * * Now, my friends, can this country be saved upon this basis? If it can, I shall consider myself one of the happiest men in the world if I can help to save it. If it can not be saved upon those principles, it will be truly awful. But if this country can not be saved without giving up that principle, I was about to say I would rather be assassinated in this spot than surrender it.

THE FOUNTAIN OF LIBERTY.

This was their majestic interpretation of the economy of the universe. This was their lofty and wise and noble understanding of the justice of the Creator to his creatures. Yes, gentlemen, to all his creatures, to the whole great family of them. * * * They grasped not only the whole race of man then living, but they reached forward and seized upon the furthest posterity. They erected a beacon to guide their children and their children's children, and the countless myriads who shall inhabit the earth in other ages. Wise statesmen as they were, they knew the tendency of prosperity to breed tyrants, and so they established these great self-evident truths, that when in the distant future some man, some faction, some interest, should set up the doctrine that none but rich men, or none but white men, or none but Anglo-Saxon white men, were entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, their posterity might look up again to the Declaration of Independence, and take courage to renew the battle which their fathers began, so that truth and justice and mercy and all the humane and Christian virtues might not be extinguished from the land; so that no man should thereafter dare to limit and circumscribe the principles on which the temple of liberty was being built. Now, my countrymen, if you have been taught doctrines conflicting * * * with the Declaration of Independence; if you have listened to suggestions which would take away from its grandeur and mutilate the fair symmetry of its proportions * * * let me entreat you to come back. Return to the fountain whose waters spring close by the blood of the Revolution.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

[From speech in Springfield, Ill., June 26, 1857.]

I have now briefly expressed my view of the meaning and object of that part of the Declaration of Independence which declares that "all men are created equal."

Now let us hear Judge Douglas's view of the same subject, as I find it in the printed report of his late speech. Here it is:

No man can vindicate the character, motives, and conduct of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, except upon the hypothesis that they referred to the white race alone, and not to the African, when they declared all men to have been created equal—that they were speaking of British subjects on this continent being equal to British subjects born and residing in Great Britain—that they were entitled to the same inalienable rights, and among them were enumerated life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The Declaration was adopted for the purpose of justifying the colonists in the eyes of the civilized world in withdrawing their allegiance from the British Crown and dissolving their connection with the mother country.

My good friends, read that carefully over some leisure hour, and ponder well upon it. See what a mere wreck, mangled ruin, it makes of our once glorious Declaration.

They were speaking of British subjects on this continent being equal to the British subjects born and residing in Great Britain.

Why, according to this, not only negroes, but white people outside of Great Britain and America, were not spoken of in that instrument. The English, Irish, and Scotch, along with white Americans, were

included, to be sure, but the French, Germans, and other white people of the world are all gone to pot along with the judge's inferior races.

I had thought the Declaration promised something better than the condition of British subjects. But no; it only meant that we should be equal to them in their own oppressed and unequal condition! According to that, it gave no promise that, having kicked off the King and lords of Great Britain, we should not at once be saddled with a king and lords of our own in these United States.

I had thought the Declaration contemplated progressive improvement in the condition of all men everywhere. But no; it merely "was adopted for the purpose of justifying the colonies in the eyes of the civilized world in withdrawing their allegiance from the British Crown and dissolving their connection with the mother country." Why, that object having been effected some eighty years ago, the Declaration is of no practical use now—mere rubbish—only wadding left to rot on the battlefield after the victory is won.

I understand you are preparing to celebrate the "Fourth" to-morrow week. What for? The doings of that day had no reference to the present, and quite half of you are not even descendants of those who were referred to at that day. But I suppose you will celebrate, and will even go so far as to read the Declaration.

ARGUMENTS OF KINGS.

[From speech in Chicago, July 10, 1858.]

Those arguments that are made that the inferior race are to be treated with as much allowance as they are capable of enjoying; that as much is to be done for them as their condition will allow. What are these arguments? They are the arguments that kings have made for enslaving the people in all ages of the world. You will find that all the arguments in favor of kingcraft were of this class. They always bestrode the necks of the people, not that they wanted to do it, but because the people were better off for being ridden. That is their argument, and this argument of the judge is the same old serpent that says: "You work and I eat; you toil and I will enjoy the fruits of it." Turn it in whatever way you will, whether it comes from the mouth of a king as an excuse for enslaving the people of his country, or from the mouth of men of one race as a reason for enslaving the men of another race, it is all the same old serpent, and I hold if that course of argumentation that is made for the purpose of convincing the public mind that we should not care about this should be granted, it does not stop with the negro. I should like to know if taking this old Declaration of Independence, which declares that all men are equal upon principle, and making exceptions to it, where will it stop? If one man says it does not mean a negro, why not another say it does not mean some other man? If that Declaration is not the truth, let us get the statute book in which we find it and tear it out! Who is so bold as to do it?

THE AUTHOR OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

EXTRACTS FROM THE UTTERANCES OF THOMAS JEFFERSON.

ANGELS IN THE FORM OF KINGS.

Sometimes it is said that man can not be trusted with the government of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the forms of kings to govern him? Let history answer this question.

A SAFEGUARD OF NATURE.

Kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one-quarter of the globe; too high minded to endure the degradations of others; possessing a chosen country with room enough for our decendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation. Entertaining a due sense of our equal right to the use of our own faculties, to the acquisitions of our own industry, to honor and confidence from our fellow-citizens, resulting not from birth, but from our actions and our sense of them; * * * with all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and a prosperous people? Still one thing more, fellow-citizens: A wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvements, and shall take not from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government, and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities.

INFORMING THE LEGISLATIVE JUDGMENT.

I am happy in this opportunity of committing the arduous affairs of our Government to the collected wisdom of the Union. Nothing shall be wanting on my part to inform, as far as is in my power, the legislative judgment, nor to carry that judgment into faithful execution.

SEPARATED FROM FOREIGN ENTANGLEMENTS.

Separated by a wide ocean from the nations of Europe and from the political interests which entangle them together, with productions and wants which render our commerce and friendship useful to them and theirs to us, it can not be the interest of any to assail us, nor ours to disturb them. We should be most unwise indeed were we to cast away the singular blessings of the position in which nature has placed us, the opportunity she has endowed us with of pursuing at a distance from foreign contentions the paths of industry, peace, and happiness; of cultivating general friendship, and of bringing collisions of interest to the umpirage of reason rather than of force. How desirous, then, must it be in a government like ours to see its citizens adopt individually the views, the interests, and the conduct which their country should pursue, divesting themselves of those passions and partialities which tend to lessen useful friendships and to embarrass and embroil us in the calamitous scenes of Europe.

INTERESTS INSEPARABLE FROM MORAL DUTIES.

We are firmly convinced, and we act on that conviction, that with nations, as with individuals, our interests, soundly calculated, will ever be found inseparable from our moral duties, and history bears witness to the fact that a just nation is trusted on its word, when recourse is had to armaments and wars to bridle others.

 OPPOSED TO A PUBLIC DEBT.

In his letter, dated Monticello, July 12, 1816, to Samuel Kerchival, Mr. Jefferson said:

"I am not among those who fear the people. They, and not the rich, are our dependence for continued freedom. And to preserve their independence we must not let our rulers load us with perpetual debt. We must make our election between economy and liberty, or profusion and servitude. If we run into such debts, as that we must be taxed in our meat and in our drink, our necessities and our comforts, in our labors and our amusements, for our callings and our creeds, as the people of England are, our people, like them, must come to labor sixteen hours in the twenty-four, give the earnings of fifteen of these to the Government for their debts and daily expenses, and the sixteenth being insufficient to afford us bread, we must live as they now do, on oatmeal and potatoes; have no time to think, no means to call the mismanagers to account, but be glad to obtain subsistence by hiring ourselves to rivet their chains on the necks of our fellow-sufferers."

 OPPOSED TO BANKS OF ISSUE.

In a letter to John Adams, dated Monticello, January 24, 1814, Mr. Jefferson said:

"I have been the enemy of banks, not of those discounting for cash, but of those foisting their own paper into circulation, and thus banishing our cash. My zeal against those institutions was so warm and open at the establishment of the Bank of the United States that I was derided as a maniac by the tribe of bank mongers, who were seeking to filch from the public their swindling and barren gains."

To Mr. Gallatin, October 16, 1815, he wrote:

"We are undone, my dear sir, if this banking mania be not suppressed. The war, had it proceeded, would have upset our Government, and a new one, whenever tried, will do it. And so it must be while our money, the nerve of war, is, much or little, real or imaginary, as our bitterest enemies choose to make it. Put down the banks, and if this country could not be carried through the longest war against her most powerful enemy without ever knowing the want of a dollar, without dependence on the traitorous class of her citizens, without bearing hard on the resources of the people, or loading the public with an indefinite burden of debt, I know nothing of my countrymen. Not by any novel project, not by any charlatanerie, but by ordinary and well-experienced means; by the total prohibition of all private paper at all times, by reasonable taxes in war aided by the necessary emissions of public paper of circulating size."

To John Taylor, May 28, 1816, he wrote:

"I sincerely believe, with you, that banking establishments are more dangerous than standing armies, and that the principle of spending money to be paid by posterity, under the name of funding, is but swindling futurity on a larger scale."

Jefferson saw things clearly and stated them fearlessly, but even he, in his keenest vision, could never have seen the terrible condition to which plutocracy is hurrying the Republic.

We have the banks, the funded debt, and the standing army, and the Government is absolutely under the control of the money power. Life is becoming cheap, compared with property, and in the worship of the god Mammon human liberty and human life are daily and hourly being sacrificed upon its altars.

MAXIMS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON.

THEY WERE UTTERED A HUNDRED YEARS AGO, BUT THEY ARE AS APPLICABLE NOW AS THEN.

Separated as we are by a world of water from other nations, we shall, if we are wise, surely avoid being drawn into the labyrinth of their politics and involved in their destructive wars.

America may think herself happy in having the Atlantic for a barrier.

GUARD AGAINST FOREIGN INFLUENCE.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe, fellow-citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it.

Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike of another cause them whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil, and even to second, the arts of influence on the other.

IN TIMES LIKE THESE TRUE PATRIOTS BECOME ODISIOUS.

Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite nation, are liable to become odious, while the tools and dupes [of the favorite nation] usurp the applause and confidence of the people.

THE TRUE POLICY OF AMERICA.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is to have with them as little political connection as possible.

WE ARE ENGLAND'S FOOL SERVANTS.

A passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation facilitates the illusion of imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and, infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the other into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter without inducement or justification.

WE WANT AN AMERICAN CHARACTER.

I can most religiously aver that I have no wish that is incompatible with the dignity, happiness, and true interest of the people of this country. My ardent desire is, and my aim has been, to comply strictly with all our engagements, foreign and domestic, but to keep the United States free from political connections with every other country, to see them independent of all, and under the influence of none. In a word, I want an American character, that the powers of Europe may be convinced we act for ourselves and not for others. This, in my judgment, is the only way to be respected abroad and happy at home; and not, by becoming the partisans of Great Britain or France (or any other country), create dissensions, disturb the public tranquillity, and destroy, perhaps forever, the cement which binds the union.

GEORGE WASHINGTON ON M'KINLEYISM.

I have always given it as my decided opinion that no nation has a right to intermeddle in the internal concerns of another; that every one has a right to form and adopt whatever government they like best to live under themselves.

[National Watchman, March 29, 1900.]

WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON, AND LINCOLN.

Coextensive and coeternal with the name and fame of the American Republic are, and must ever remain, the names of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln. While the American Republic lasts they need no other monument.

The man of Nazareth 1,900 years ago taught that there was but one God, the Father, and that all men were brothers. The transcendent genius of Jefferson applied the teachings of Christ to government. The Declaration of Independence ushered in a new dispensation, elevating government from the plane of brute force into the domain of morals. So long as the commandments given on Sinai are esteemed morals, and the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount accepted as virtues, the fame of the author of the Declaration of Independence is secure.

Washington, the cotemporary and compatriot of Jefferson, was in many respects his complement as a statesman. He commanded the embattled farmers of the New World and struck down the old dispen-

sation, and was first among the constructive geniuses who established the new. He was as dauntless as a soldier as he was wise as a statesman. He was first in war and first in peace. No name is greater than that of Washington. His Farewell Address will stand throughout all time a monument of wisdom and patriotism, pointing the way to his successors at the helm of government.

Lincoln stands conspicuous as a worthy successor to Washington and Jefferson. Three-quarters of a century under the new dispensation found African slavery an incongruous part of our system. Its presence was intolerable in morals.

Slavery warped the reason and perverted the conscience of its beneficiaries, and they did not possess the power to yield except to superior force.

The slave owners could not abolish slavery, neither could the commercial classes that traded with them demand that it be done. The slave States dominated the politics of the nation. The Whig party wanted their votes. So did the Democratic party. Thus neither of them were able to deal with the question. The pulpit both North and South reflected the views of the occupants of the front pews, which were the commercial classes in the North and the slave owners in the South. The courts both North and South found ample precedents upon which to base opinions. The commercial press, then as now, bent the pregnant hinges of the knee to the moneyed and commercial classes.

Lincoln was a conspicuous representative of what he was pleased to call the plain people. He was one of that large class which constitute the backbone of the nation, the product of our free government, free schools, and a Christian home. He was a close student and ardent disciple of Thomas Jefferson, and a thorough believer in the doctrine of equality before the law. To him slavery was abhorrent, immoral, and utterly inconsistent with our theory of government, and he threw the force of his great personality into the struggle for its overthrow.

He was raised a Whig and served one term in Congress as such, during which his advocacy of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia incurred for him the disfavor of his party. He was one of the founders of the Republican party and a delegate to the first Republican national convention from the State of Illinois. In 1860 the Republican party was successful in the national election, and Lincoln was elected to the Presidency.

Lincoln was a Jeffersonian Democrat in the broadest and fullest sense of the word, and to-day his memory is revered by all Americans except the Hannaites—a new cult that are masquerading in the grave-clothes of Lincoln and his associates, but with whom they have nothing in common.

No better Democratic literature can be found than the letters, speeches, and messages of Lincoln. His loyalty to the Declaration of Independence, his jealousy of any encroachments upon the rights of the people, and his uncompromising hostility to special privileges is evidenced in all of his sayings.

The party of Lincoln is no more. The Republican party of Hanna and McKinley dread nothing so much as to be confronted with the speeches and messages of Lincoln. In them they find their own condemnation. Every public utterance of Washington, Jefferson, and

Lincoln stands in condemnation of the policy of McKinley and Hanna and the mongrel party of Pharisees, hypocrites, and mercenary retainers who are now seeking to overturn the Republic, repudiate the principles upon which the fathers built, and launch the nation upon a career of imperial conquest.

The attempt made by the Hannaites to disguise their purposes and cover themselves with the garment of the fair fame of their honored predecessors was rudely shocked last week when Senator Sewall, of New Jersey, objected to extracts from the writings of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln being printed as a Senate document in order that they might be distributed among the American people under the franking privilege. Senator Pettigrew, on the 20th instant, asked unanimous consent of the Senate to have a collection of extracts from the writings of these great Americans published as a Senate document. The announcement immediately caused consternation among the Hannaites, who at once sought to have the document referred to the Printing Committee, where it would die the death that knows no waking. But upon Senator Pettigrew refusing to have it so referred, it was promptly objected to by the Hannaites Senator from New Jersey. In another column the rejected document is published in full. We commend our readers to a careful perusal of the rejected document.

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